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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	SRPP-00	H-01	TEDE-00
	INR-00	LAB-01	L-01	ADS-00	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	PMB-00	PRM-10	PRME-01	DRL-09
	G-00	/028W					

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R 210634Z JUL 95
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1037
RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 002287

E.O. 12356: 20 YEARS
TAGS: PGOV, PREL, RW
SUBJECT: THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY-ONE YEAR LATER

1. C -- ENTIRE TEXT

2. JULY 19 WAS THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE INSTALLATION OF THE

A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT FOLLOWING LAST
YEAR'S WAR AND GENOCIDE. IN CONTRAST TO THE TWO DAY
HOLIDAY, GRAND PARADE AND FORMAL RECEPTION WHICH MARKED
THE RPF TAKEOVER OF KIGALI JULY 4, THIS EVENT WAS
CELEBRATED AT THE END OF A WORKING DAY WITH A LAWN PARTY
AT THE RESIDENCE OF FORMER PRESIDENT KAYIBANDA. THE

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HOST, PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU (AND KAYIBANDA'S SON-IN-LAW), WHO LAST YEAR THEORETICALLY CHOSE THE GOVERNMENT AS PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE UNDER THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, MADE A FEW REMARKS THANKING ONE AND ALL, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT WHO WERE IN ATTENDANCE. ON RADIO RWANDA, THE OFFICIAL LINE (ALL INFORMATION OFFICE STAFFERS ARE RPF STALWARTS) WAS THAT THE PEOPLE SHOULD HOLD INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENT MEMBERS ACCOUNTABLE FOR PROGRESS SO FAR, SUGGESTING THAT A BALANCE SHEET WOULD SHOW SOME "MIRACLES" AND SOME SHORTCOMINGS.

3. MIRACLES: WELL, WE'RE NOT SO SURE ABOUT THE MIRACLES, ----- BUT SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN GETTING AT LEAST THE OUTLINES OF A CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN PLACE. SOME FORMER MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION, OF COURSE, WERE KILLED DURING THE WAR AND GENOCIDE. MANY FORMER OFFICE-HOLDERS FLED THE COUNTRY. WHEN SOME WHO REMAINED WERE SUBSEQUENTLY ACCUSED OF GENOCIDE, EFFORTS TO ATTRACT TALENT BACK FROM THE CAMPS CAME TO NAUGHT. THIS HAS MADE STAFFING UP THE GOVERNMENT A DIFFICULT TASK, AND THE PROBLEM GOES FROM TOP TO BOTTOM, FROM SUPREME COURT JUSTICES AND MINISTERS DOWN TO LOCAL COMMUNE OFFICIALS.

4. A WRANGLE OVER WHAT WE MIGHT CALL "CIVIL SERVICE" PROCEDURES IS UNDERWAY NOW. IT HAS SEEMED THAT QUALIFIED HUTUS WERE LOSING TO TUTSI IN "COMPETITION" FOR ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS; 16 OF THE 22 DIRECTORS GENERAL CHOSEN FOR VARIOUS MINISTRIES REPORTEDLY ARE EXILES. BUT, THE CHIEF OF CABINET AT THE CIVIL SERVICE MINISTRY TOLD AMBASSADOR RAWSON JULY 19 THAT THE COUNCIL OF
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GOVERNMENT CANCELLED HIS "COMPETITIVE EVALUATION" OF GOVERNMENT POSITIONS AND IS INSTITUTING NEW PROCEDURES. THIS WAS CONFIRMED IN CONVERSATIONS WITH THE MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND THE DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE. THE NEW PROCEDURES ARE TO MAKE CHOICE FOR ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS MORE REPRESENTATIVE. MEANWHILE, THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS PREPARING A NEW LIST OF JUSTICES FOR THE SUPREME COURT WHICH WILL HAVE SOME NEW HUTU NAMES ON IT; PREVIOUSLY NOMINATED HUTUS

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ASKED TO BE DROPPED FOR REASONS OF THEIR OWN SECURITY. THESE PROCEDURAL REVISIONS WILL SLOW DOWN THE PROCESS OF SETTING UP THE ADMINISTRATION BUT WILL HOPEFULLY ESTABLISH A BETTER ETHNIC AND REGIONAL BALANCE AND HENCE MORE LEGITIMACY AND MORE EFFECTIVE REACH INTO THE POPULATION.

4. THERE IS A FUNCTIONING PARLIAMENT, BASED LOOSELY ON THE ARUSHA ACCORDS, BUT ITS EXISTENCE AS A DEBATING SOCIETY HAS BEEN ITS BIGGEST SUCCESS SO FAR. DOMINATED BY TUTSIS, THE ASSEMBLY'S CONTROVERSIAL VOTES APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN ALONG IDEOLOGICAL, NOT PARTY LINES. THE DEFBAT OF THE GOVERNMENT'S LIST OF SUPREME COURT NOMINEES AND THE REFUSAL OF PARLIAMENT TO ACCEPT FOREIGN MAGISTRATES FOR GENOCIDE TRIALS WERE EXAMPLES OF THIS ETHNIC/IDEOLOGICAL LINE. THE QUESTIONS PUT BY TUTSI PARLIAMENTARIANS TO UNSYG BOUTROS-GHALI DURING HIS VISIT SHOWED THAT THE HARD-CORE ISSUES OF GENOCIDE, RECONCILIATION, JUSTICE, HAVE NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED A YEAR LATER.

5. SHORTCOMINGS: THE GOVERNMENT IS WORKING ITSELF
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----- THROUGH A SHAKEDOWN PERIOD, AND IT IS BECOMING MORE AND MORE EVIDENT THAT WE HAVE, IN FACT, TWO TRACKS OF GOVERNMENT AT WORK. ONE IS RPF-DOMINATED AND WANTS EFFICIENT, SERIOUS PURSUIT OF ITS REFORM AGENDA. THE OTHER IS MADE UP OF "BROAD-BASED" REPRESENTATIVES OF

FORMER INTERNAL OPPOSITION WHO WANT MORE DETERMINATIVE SAY IN HOW RWANDA HEADS TO ITS FUTURE. THE RPF CRITICIZE THEIR FORMER PARTNERS FOR TAKING THE "OLD" APPROACH TO GOVERNMENT: FILLING PLACES WITH FRIENDS AND RELATIVES, IGNORING THE DAY-TO-DAY BUSINESS OF GETTING THINGS WORKING AGAIN. THE OTHER SIDE CRITICIZES THE RPF FOR BEING POWER HUNGRY, WANTING TO DOMINATE POSITIONS AND POLICY IN GOVERNMENT. BOTH SIDES ARE WRONG, OF COURSE. THE RPF, HAS PERMITTED SOME CONSIDERABLE SHARING OF POWER BUT IT HAS ALSO PUT IDEOLOGY FIRST: THE SUPREME COURT AND FOREIGN MAGISTRATES BILLS ARE GOOD EXAMPLES. ANOTHER IS THE SLOWNESS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WORLD BANK

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LOAN, NONE OF THE MONIES OF WHICH HAVE YET REACHED THEIR INTENDED RECIPIENTS, WITH THE PUBLIC SECTOR PORTION OF THE LOAN STILL PENDING THE RESOLUTION OF A WRANGLE OVER THE -- FRENCH -- PURCHASING AGENT. SOME OF THE "OLD" POLITICOS HAVE BEEN THE MOST PROACTIVE AND ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTED, ESPECIALLY THE MINISTERS OF AGRICULTURE AND

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LOWER EDUCATION. BUT THEY HAVE ALSO BEEN RESISTANT TO NEW APPROACHES, ESPECIALLY IF THE LATTER THREATEN THEIR POLITICAL BASE.

6. THE TWO-TRACK PHENOMENON IS MOST INTERESTING BECAUSE EACH SIDE BLAMES THE OTHER FOR NOT BEING IN SYNCH; THE RPF FORCES BELIEVE IT IS UP TO THE OTHERS TO SHIFT INTO HIGHER GEAR; THE OTHERS BELIEVE THE RPF WANTS TO TOTALLY CONTROL THE PROCESS. A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH RPF
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IDEOLOGUE AND PARLIAMENTARIAN THEOGEN RUDASINGWA WAS ILLUSTRATIVE. THE RPF IS NOT/NOT SEEKING TO EXPAND ITS MEMBERSHIP. IT DOES NOT SEEK TO INVOLVE RANK-AND-FILE RWANDANS IN ITS MEMBERSHIP. IT IS, IN ITS WAY, A CLOSED CLUB. RUDASINGWA DID NOT FIND OUR STANDARD QUESTION ABOUT WHAT "THE NEW RWANDA" WILL LOOK LIKE FIVE YEARS FROM NOW INTERESTING; FIVE YEARS, HE TOLD US, IS NOT ENOUGH TIME TO MAKE THE KINDS OF CHANGES THE RPF WANTS. FIVE MORE YEARS OF WHAT WE HAVE NOW IS WHAT HE IS EXPECTING. THIS LINE TRACKS WITH THAT OF THE YOUNG CHIEF OF SECURITY IN THE WESTERN PREFECTURE OF KIBUYE. HE WAS FORMERLY A POLITICAL CADRE IN THE RPF; HIS IMAGE OF THE "NEW RWANDA" WAS BASED ON YEARS OF WHAT SOUNDED TO US LIKE RE-EDUCATION OF THE MASSES.

7. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS PAST YEAR'S PROGRESS OR LACK OF SAME SEEM TO US TO BE THE FOLLOWING:

--THE RPF KNOWS WHAT IT WANTS TO DO, BUT HAS NOT YET MADE ITS INTENTIONS CLEARLY KNOWN. THIS MAY BE BECAUSE THE MEANS TO ACHIEVE THEIR ENDS ARE NOT YET DECIDED.

--THE RPF IS NOT YET SURE OF ITS OWN POLITICAL BASE. THE ARRIVALS FROM UGANDA, BURUNDI, TANZANIA, ZAIRE, ELSEWHERE MAINTAINED CONTACT OVER THE YEARS, BUT COME FROM THIRTY YEARS OF UNSHARED EXPERIENCES.

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--THE RPF WILL NOT WELCOME SUGGESTIONS OF
PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY ANY TIME SOON.

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--THE IMPORTANCE TO THE RPF OF ANY PROGRAM CAN BE
JUDGED BY THE PERSONNEL STAFFING IT; VIDELICET
JUSTICE, HEADED UP BY A NON-RPF HUTU. VIDELICET EVEN
THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF, HEADED UP BY A NON-RPF HUTU
PRIME MINISTER.

--WHILE NON-RPF HAVE HELD ONTO POSITION AND
INFLUENCE BY SLIM FANCY DURING MUCH OF THIS
YEAR, THEIR STAYING POWER, THE EXPERIENCE OF
THEIR CADRE AND THE BULK OF THEIR POLITICAL
BASE SUGGEST THAT, ABSENT RENEWED VIOLENCE
WHICH WOULD LEAD TO SUPPRESSION, TIME IS ON
THEIR SIDE.

8. THE SUCCESS OF OUR ABILITY TO WORK WITH THE GOVERNMENT
OF NATIONAL UNITY WILL DEPEND ON OUR WILLINGNESS TO
UNDERSTAND ITS POWER DYNAMIC. WE CAN CHAFE AGAINST
REALITY, OR WE CAN TRY TO WORK WITH THE POWERS THAT BE;
THE VICTORS HAVE, AFTER ALL, TAKEN THE SPOILS. BUT WE
CAN ALSO WORK WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY'S
IDEOLOGY WHICH INCLUDES A COMMITMENT TO THE RULE OF LAW
AND TO CIVILIAN GOVERNANCE. GIVING MINISTRIES OF CENTRAL
GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATORS AT LOCAL LEVEL THE CAPACITY
TO FUNCTION AND SERVE THEIR PEOPLE REMAINS A VALID
OBJECTIVE OF US POLICY IN RWANDA.
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